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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

AESCHYLUS FR. 207 AND THE SATYR CHORUS

Τράγος γένεον ἄρα πενθήσεις σύ γε.

This line is cited by Eustathius as an example of the use of the nominative for the vocative. Accepting this interpretation modern historians of the drama have used the line as the one explicit testimony for the identification of the Satyr chorus with goats or "goatmen." Thus Albert Müller *Attisches Bühnen Wesen*, p. 95, says: "und Aeschylos nannte in einem 472 aufgeführten Satyrdrama einen Choreuten geradezu Bock." Similarly Körte in Bethe *Geschichte des Theaters*, p. 343: "dass sie noch zu Aischylos' zeit wie Böcke aussahen lehrt, trotz Loeschke, das bekannte Fragment (207) des *Prometheus πυρκαϊεύς* in Verein mit dem Pandorakrater." Loeschke's protest in *Athen. Mittheil.* XIX. p. 522, begins by admitting "dass Aeschylos . . . einen Satyr τράγος genannt hat steht allerdings fest." He glances at the truth when he goes on to say that the word must be used "als Scheltwort," or metaphorically ("selbst wenn hier keine sprüchwortliche Redensart benutzt sein sollte.") But he does not develop the idea, nor does he, I think, see the true construction. Professor Wilamowitz, though he believes that the chorus were really horsemen, Sileni, or a blended type, rather than goatmen proper, so construes the line in his note on Eurip. *Herakles* 81: "Und dass unter den Böcken Satyrn verstanden sind, lehrt sicherer als die verdächtige nachricht das die Dorer den Bock σάτυρος und τίτυρος genannt haben sollen der eine Aeschyleische vers Prometh. πυρκαϊεύς 207 in welchem der Satyr des Satyrspiels wirklich Bock τράγος angeredet wird." This rendering has never satisfied my ear. It is not, to my feeling, the natural idiomatic meaning of the Greek words as they stand. I wish to propose an alternative version in the hope that the discussion of the idiom involved may not be without interest even to those who cannot admit its application to this line. The idiom in question has already been partially illustrated for other purposes by Cobet *Mnemos. Nov.* III. 247, by Otto Crusius *Rhein. Mus.* 43. 626, by Buchholz-Peppmüller on *Theog.* 347, and by Kock on *Cratinus* fr. 52. But I think that there is something more to be said.

In Greek poetry a simile is often indicated by mere juxtaposition without a comparative conjunction. Cf., e. g., Aesch. *Prom.* 856:

οἱ δ' ἐπτοημένοι φρένας, |
κίρκοι πελειῶν οὐ μακρὰν λελεημμένοι

[Eurip.] *Rhesus* 56, 57:

ὅστις μ' εὐτυχοῦντ' ἐνόσφισας |
θοίνης λέοντα

Anth. Pal. XII. 59:

ἀλλὰ Μνίσκος |
ἔσβεσεν ἐκλάμψας ἀστέρας ἡέλιος.

Ibid. 92. 3:

ἡρπάσατ' ἄλλον Ἐρωτ', ἄρνες λύκον,

Ibid. 107. 3:

μύρτον ἔωλον ἐρρίφθω.

This, it may be observed in passing, falls in with a general tendency of Greek poetry to blend the image with the object for which it stands. See Jebb on *Soph. Antig.* 117, O. T. 866. An extension of this usage leads to the idiomatic and half humorous identification of the person with the proverb, familiar phrase, or image that fits his case.

In *Theog.* 347 ἐγὼ δὲ κύων ἐπέρησα χαράδρην the poet identifies himself with the dog of the (lost) proverb or fable, and the verb agrees with ἐγώ. Similarly in *Theog.* 1361:

Ναῦς πέτρη προσέκυρσας ἐμῆς φιλότῃτος ἀμάρτων, the juxtaposition of ναῦς πέτρη indicates the comparison, the verb is adapted to the person addressed, and no one would dream of saying that ναῦς is vocative for nominative. Cf. *Plato Com.* fr. 191 σὺ γάρ, ὥς φασι, Χείρων ἐξέθρεψας Περικλέα. *Alcman* IV. 85, is probably a similar case:

ἐγὼν μὲν αὐτὰ |
παρθένος μάταν ἀπὸ θράνω λέλακα | γλαΐξ

where the proverb, again, is an inference. And so probably in the same poem the corrupt 59th line. In *Cratinus* fr. 52, Kock, ὁ δ' ὄνος ἵεται, is, of course, not 'and the ass stands in the rain,' but 'he is the (proverbial) ass in the rain.' This appears more plainly in *Cephisodor*, fr. 1, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῖς λόγοις ὄνος ἵομαι, where τοῖς λόγοις and the person of the verb do not fit the ass, but the juxtaposition suffices. *Cratinus'* delicious parody of *Solon*, ὑμῶν εἰς μὲν ἕκαστος—ἀλώπηξ δωροδοκεῖται (fr. 128), depends on this idiom. So also his ὄνοι δ' ἀπωτέρω κάθηνται τῆς λύρας (fr. 229), and *Philemon's* ὄνος βαδίζει εἰς ἀχυρα τραγημάτων.

In *Aristoph. Lysist.* 695 ἀετὸν τίκτοντα κἀνθαρόσ σε μαιεύσομαι, the confusion and the humorous identification are complete. The matter-of-fact scholiast adds as often in such cases, λείπει τὸ ὥς. Another instance is *Lysist.* 928 ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ πέος τόδ' Ἡρακλῆς ξενίζεται; In *Wasps* 144 καπνὸς ἐγωγε ἐξέρχομαι we have an extreme case.

In *Plutus* 295 τράγοι δ' ἀκρατιεύσθε it is plain the τράγοι is not vocative; nor is Ἀρίστυλλος in 314 σὺ δ' Ἀρίστυλλος ὑποχάσκων ἐρεῖς, nor perhaps, strictly speaking, χοῖροι in 315 ἔπεισθε μητρὶ χοῖροι where the three proverbial words together are the address. Cf. further, *Aristoph. Wasps* 1291; *Lucian adv. indoct.* 4 ἀλλ' ὄνος λύρας ἀκούεις. *Lucian Cock* 11

ἐσθίειν οὖν μάτην λύκος χανὼν; *Paroem.*, Vol. I, p. 108, ζοικα βοῦς ἐπὶ σφαγῇν μολεῖν; *ibid.* I, p. 279. μὴ πρὸς λέοντα δορκὰς ἄψωμαι μάχης. Libanius 1. 14. 1 (Ἀριστομένης) . . . ἐτηρούμην. Theocr. 14. 49 ἄμμες . . . δύστηνοι Μεγαρήες; 14. 51 μὺς . . . γεύμεθα πίσας; 21. 36 ἀλλ' ὄνος ἐν ῥάμνῳ τὸ δὲ λύχνιον ἐν πρυτανείῳ; *Anth. Pal.* XII. 149 σῶν ἀχέων μίμνομεν ἀλκύνες. In Theocr. 7. 41 we have βάτραχος δὲ ποτ' ἀκριδὰς ὥς τις ἐρίσδω. But in Virgil's imitation *Eclog.* 9. 36: Sed argutos interstrepere anser olores. So elsewhere in Latin. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 101 ut vivam Maenius; *Epist.* 1. 2. 28 sponsi Penelopae, etc.; 1. 2. 41 qui recte vivendi prorogat horam | rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis; 1. 6. 63 remigium vitiosum Ithacensis Ulixei; 1. 10. 5 annuimus pariter vetuli notique columbae. Cic. *De or.* 2. 57. 33 docebo sus ut aiunt oratorem. A less obvious case is Pindar *Pyth.* IV. 289 καὶ μὰν κείνος Ἄτλας οὐρανῷ | προσπαλαίει where οὐρανῷ, though construed with προσπαλαίει, is felt in proverbial juxtaposition with Ἄτλας. Cf. Diogen. *Cent.* II. 67 Ἄτλας τὸν οὐρανόν. On the analogy, then, of these and many other cases I would translate the line of Aeschylus not, "O goat, you then will grieve for your beard," or, as L. and S. put it, "take care you don't burn your beard, goat," but [if you kiss that fire (βουλομένου φιλῆσαι, Plutarch)] "you'll be the goat (in the proverb) who mourned (lost) his beard, you will." Plutarch *De util. ex inimicis*, p. 86 F., does not say or imply that τράγος is vocative. Epiphanius' verbose and blundering explanation (cited in Nauck) is of little weight. Eustathius quotes the line as a case of the use of nominative for vocative. But that he was mistaken is no stranger than the fact that nearly everybody today misinterprets Shakspear's "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." It would not be difficult to accumulate examples of grotesquely impossible constructions proposed by ancient critics and scholiasts.

For an Athenian ear the point was indicated by the juxtaposition τράγος γένειον. That we cannot now cite the precise proverb is of no moment. The goat, like the ass, was a funny animal to the Greek, and the subject of numerous proverbs. Nothing is more likely than that there was one about a goat who poked his nose and shaggy beard too near the fire. Only a very literal mind will object that it would have been an anachronism to allude to such a proverb in a play dealing with the discovery of fire. There are countless proverbial expressions of the grammatical type required consisting of two nouns elliptically juxtaposed or a noun and a gnomic verb, e. g.:

αἰετὴ τὴν μάχαιραν.

κριὸς τὰ τροφεῖα.

ὄνος τὰ Μελιταῖα.

Ἄθηνᾶ τὸν αἰλουρον.

γαλῆ χιτῶν.

κόραξ ὑδρεύει.
 κύων ἐπὶ δεσμᾷ.
 Σικελὸς ὀμφακίζεται.
 λαγὼς καθεύδων.
 ὕς διὰ ῥόδων.
 ὕς ἐκώμασε.
 ὕς ὑπὸ ῥόπαλον.
 Λίνδιοι τὴν θυσίαν.
 ὁ Σκύθης τὸν ἵππον.
 φαλακρὸς κτένα.
 κορώνη τὸν σκόρπιον.
 Καρπάθιος τὸν λαγών.
 οἰνὴ τὴν χαράδραν.
 βούθος περιφοιτᾷ Crat. fr. 247.
 ὄνος ἀκροῖ σάλπιγγος Eupolis fr. 261.
 λύκος ἔχανεν Aristoph. fr. 337.
 ὕς ποκ' Ἀθαναίᾳ Theocr. 5. 23.
 τέττιξ κελαδεῖ Theopomp. fr. 40.
 ὄνος . . . ὀγκᾶθ' Theopomp. fr. 4.
 ἄλλεται . . . κεστρεύς Diocles fr. 5.
 ὁ μῦς τὸνλέοντα Julian *Epist.* 8.
 ἡ ἄμαξα τὸν βοῦν Lucian *Dial. mort.* 6. 2.
 ὁ νεβρὸς τὸνλέοντα *ibid.* 8. 1.

Any one of these and many others of the type might be used allusively in the idiom that we have been studying. We cannot expect explicit testimony for all.¹

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EMENDATION OF *DE CIV. DEI* II. 27

St. Augustine *De civ. Dei* ii. 27 (Dombart) begins with the words: "Vir gravis et philosophaster Tullius." What awakens suspicion against the passage is, firstly, that the word *philosophaster* has a tone of scorn that ill accords with *gravis* which precedes; secondly, that the abusive term is directed against Cicero for whom St. Augustine usually shows deep regard. To be sure he often disagrees with Cicero, but he seldom applies disrespectful epithets to him. The tone he usually adopts is that of passages like xxii. 6: "Unus e numero doctissimorum hominum idemque eloquentissimus omnium Marcus Tullius Cicero;" iv. 26: "merito displicuit viro gravi poeta;" and *Confess.* iii. 4: "ille vero liber

¹ Since this note was written I have observed that Blaydes on Aristoph. *Lysist.* 694, cites our fragment of Aeschylus with other similar cases. He offers no explanation, however, and his interpretation, if he intended it, seems to have been overlooked.